

the protection of consumers against "slamming" by telecommunications carriers, and for other purposes.

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 40

At the request of Mr. HATCH, the names of the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. NICKLES] and the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. THOMAS] were added as cosponsors of Senate Joint Resolution 40, a joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States authorizing Congress to prohibit the physical desecration of the flag of the United States.

SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 55

At the request of Mr. GREGG, the names of the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. HOLLINGS] and the Senator from Indiana [Mr. COATS] were added as cosponsors of Senate Concurrent Resolution 55, a concurrent resolution declaring the annual memorial service sponsored by the National Emergency Medical Services Memorial Service Board of Directors to honor emergency medical services personnel to be the "National Emergency Medical Services Memorial Service."

SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 71

At the request of Mr. LOTT, the name of the Senator from Colorado [Mr. CAMPBELL] was added as a cosponsor of Senate Concurrent Resolution 71, a concurrent resolution condemning Iraq's threat to international peace and security.

SENATE RESOLUTION 148

At the request of Mr. DOMENICI, the names of the Senator from Colorado [Mr. CAMPBELL], the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DURBIN], and the Senator from Montana [Mr. BAUCUS] were added as cosponsors of Senate Resolution 148, a resolution designating 1998 as the "Onate Cuatrocenenario", the 400th anniversary commemoration of the first permanent Spanish settlement in New Mexico.

SENATE RESOLUTION 155

At the request of Mr. LOTT, the names of the Senator from Maine [Ms. SNOWE] and the Senator from Utah [Mr. HATCH] were added as cosponsors of Senate Resolution 155, a resolution designating April 6 of each year as "National Tartan Day" to recognize the outstanding achievements and contributions made by Scottish Americans to the United States.

SENATE RESOLUTION 168

At the request of Mr. HUTCHINSON, the name of the Senator from Utah [Mr. HATCH] was added as a cosponsor of Senate Resolution 168, a resolution expressing the sense of the Senate that the Department of Education, States, and local educational agencies should spend a greater percentage of Federal education tax dollars in our children's classrooms.

SENATE RESOLUTION 171

At the request of Mr. SPECTER, the names of the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. REED], the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. CHAFEE], the Senator from Washington [Mrs. MURRAY], the

Senator from California [Mrs. FEINSTEIN], the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. COCHRAN], and the Senator from Oregon [Mr. WYDEN] were added as cosponsors of Senate Resolution 171, a resolution designating March 25, 1998, as "Greek Independence Day: A National Day of Celebration of Greek and American Democracy."

SENATE RESOLUTION 174

At the request of Mr. ROTH, the name of the Senator from Florida [Mr. MACK] was added as a cosponsor of Senate Resolution 174, a resolution to state the sense of the Senate that Thailand is a key partner and friend of the United States, has committed itself to executing its responsibilities under its arrangements with the International Monetary Fund, and that the United States should be prepared to take appropriate steps to ensure continued close bilateral relations.

AMENDMENT NO. 1397

At the request of Mr. BYRD, the names of the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DODD] and the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. THURMOND] were added as cosponsors of Amendment No. 1397 intended to be proposed to S. 1173, a bill to authorize funds for construction of highways, for highway safety programs, and for mass transit programs, and for other purposes.

SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 76—ENFORCING THE EMBARGO ON THE EXPORT OF OIL FROM IRAQ

Mr. MURKOWSKI submitted the following concurrent resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations:

S. CON. RES. 76

Whereas hostilities in Operation Desert Storm ended on February 28, 1991, and the cease fire was codified in United Nations Security Council Resolutions 686 (March 2, 1991) and 687 (April 3, 1991);

Whereas United Nations Security Council Resolution 687 requires that international economic sanctions, including an embargo on the sale of oil from Iraq, remain in place until Iraq discloses and destroys its weapons of mass destruction programs and capabilities and undertakes unconditionally never to resume such activities;

Whereas Resolution 687 further established the United Nations Special Commission (UNSCOM) on Iraq to uncover all aspects of Iraq's weapons of mass destruction program;

Whereas, despite the sustained opposition of the Government of Iraq, UNSCOM has discovered many instances of inaccurate actions by Iraq concerning Iraqi ballistic missile capabilities and chemical and biological programs;

Whereas Security Council Resolution 986 (April 14, 1995) partially lifted international economic sanctions by allowing Iraq to sell \$1 billion in oil every 90 days, the proceeds of which are designed, in part, for humanitarian assistance to the people of Iraq;

Whereas a report by the Secretary General of the United Nations submitted on February 2, 1998 recommends further easing of economic sanctions by allowing Iraq to sell \$5.2 billion in oil every six months;

Whereas the United States has indicated it will support the easing of further economic

sanctions proposed by the UN Secretary General;

Whereas revenues from oil exports have historically represented nearly all (95 percent) of Iraq's foreign exchange earnings;

Whereas in the year preceding hostilities in Operation Desert Storm, Iraq's export earnings totaled \$10.4 billion;

Whereas Iraq, since the end of Operation Desert Storm, has been steadily increasing exports of oil to Jordan from 60,000 to 80,000 barrels per day and in December 1997, agreed to increase such shipments to approximately 96,000 barrels per day;

Whereas Iraq has been able to circumvent international economic sanctions by exporting oil to Turkey;

Whereas the Multinational Interdiction Force that conducts maritime searches in the Persian Gulf has reported that exports of contraband Iraqi oil through the Gulf have increased seven-fold in the past year, from \$10 million in diesel fuel sales in 1996 to \$75 million in 1997;

Whereas Iraq's military capabilities, including its capacity to produce weapons of mass destruction, are significantly enhanced by its ability to earn foreign exchange primarily from oil exports;

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That Congress—

(1) condemns in the strongest possible terms the continued threat to international peace and security posed by Iraq's refusal to meet its international obligations and end its weapons of mass destruction programs;

(2) urges the Administration to oppose any further weakening of economic sanctions including extension of, or expansion of, United Nations Security Council Resolution 986;

(3) urges the President to propose to the United Nations Security Council measures to significantly tighten the international embargo on the sale of oil from Iraq, including efforts to strengthen the Multi-lateral Interdiction Force and inspection operations near the Port of Basra;

(4) urges the President to enter into negotiations with oil producing nations in the Gulf to encourage them to make subsidized sales of oil to Jordan;

(5) urges the President to submit a report to Congress 30 days before the UN is authorized to consider renewing Iraq's authority to export oil setting forth a detailed accounting for the disposition of the proceeds of UN authorized sales of oil from Iraq.

Mr. MURKOWSKI. Mr. President, I rise to submit a concurrent resolution addressing the international sanctions regime that has been in place against Iraq since the end of the Persian Gulf war. As we all know, there has been a great deal of deliberation in this Chamber relative to potential action that might be initiated by our Government against Iraq. And there is a feeling of, I think, growing concern as to just what type action we might take and what it will accomplish.

But, Mr. President, I think I bring a different approach to this dilemma. As we acknowledge the risk of the approach to this dilemma. As we acknowledge the risk of the approaching confrontation with Iraq that has been brought about by Saddam Hussein's continuing unwillingness to allow the U.N. inspectors the right to inspect the facilities in Iraq, what we also know is that Saddam Hussein is very likely continuing to manufacture and develop weapons of mass destruction, probably of a biological nature.

I was in Iraq in the early 1980s with a number of Senators and had an opportunity to visit with Saddam Hussein before the Persian Gulf war. It was clear from that meeting that we had a very unusual personality, one who is dangerous and clearly unpredictable.

As a consequence, we find ourselves in the position that until the U.N. inspectors are allowed unfettered access to the facilities in Iraq, the world will continue to be held hostage to the destructive and threatening tendencies of Saddam Hussein.

With the world's economy so heavily dependent on the free flow of oil from the Mideast, so long as these weapons of mass destruction exist, the economic stability of every nation in the world is somewhat at risk. Make no mistake about it, Mr. President, the Persian Gulf war was a war to ensure that Saddam did not take over the oil fields of Kuwait. That was Saddam's objective. It was a war about oil and the necessity of keeping oil flowing to the free markets of the world.

So, Mr. President, one question that seems to be lost in the debate is, how—how—has Saddam been able to obtain the technology and the resources to construct facilities capable of producing poison gas and biological weapons? The U.N. economic embargo has been in place for 7 years, but somehow—somehow—he appears to have been able to maintain a cash flow to purchase the necessary technology for building these laboratories of death.

Just this morning, the Washington Post is reporting that U.N. inspectors have uncovered evidence that in 1995 the Russian Government may have entered into a multimillion dollar deal to sell Iraq specialized fermentation equipment that could be used to develop biological weapons. If this story turns out to be true, Russia's credibility in its alleged efforts to broker a diplomatic solution to the current crisis could be seriously called into question.

More importantly, the question remains, how could Iraq have financed this deal? Well, surely the Russians were not going to sell such equipment in exchange for worthless Iraqi dinars. The deal had to be financed with dollars, had to be financed with hard currency. But how could Iraq amass millions in hard currency in the face of 7 years of U.N. sanctions?

Well, Mr. President, there is only one answer. It is an obvious one. The only mechanism that Iraq has to enable it to gain hard currency is to export its oil. There is virtually nothing else, besides dates and some agriculture products, that Iraq has to export.

Prior to the U.N. sanctions in 1990, Iraq had exports of \$10.4 billion. Of that amount, more than 95 percent—or almost \$10 billion—was derived from oil exports. Clearly, Iraq's capacity to purchase equipment in the world market to develop weapons of mass destruction is directly linked to its ability to sell oil, and only oil.

Ever since the gulf war ended, Iraq has been shipping oil into Jordan. Initially, Jordan received about 60,000 barrels of Iraqi oil a day. That figure has recently climbed to over 80,000 barrels a day, and in an agreement reached in December, the oil trade between Iraq and Jordan is scheduled to climb to 96,000 barrels a day.

Although the Jordanians claim that the oil is traded for food and medicine, I personally find it hard to believe that, with millions of dollars worth of oil and products daily crossing the Iraq/Jordanian border, that some of that oil is not leaking into the world market or that hard currency and sophisticated machinery are not flowing back into Iraq. As a matter of fact, we know that oil is leaking out.

Moreover, there is a great deal of evidence that Iraqi oil is being shipped across the border into Turkey. Dollars are surely being traded in exchange for the oil, and those dollars are likely to be used to finance Saddam's factories of death.

In addition, Mr. President, the Multinational Interdiction Force, the MIF, that conducts maritime searches in the Persian Gulf reported factually last fall that exports of contraband Iraqi oil through the gulf and jumped sevenfold in the past year, from \$10 million in diesel fuel sales in 1996 to \$75 million in 1997. Much of that oil is believed to be transshipped through Iran and the United Arab Emirates and on to the world market.

What does Saddam do with the revenues from those contraband sales? Well, he keeps his weapons factories running, keeps the Republican Guards well armed and fed.

Mr. President, the United States has been concerned about the hardships, of course, that the economic sanctions have imposed on the people of Iraq. Our conflict is not with the Iraqi people; it is with the dictator who has run that country for some 19 years while depriving the people of the basic dignities of life and slaughtering some tens of thousands of minority citizens of Iraq.

In 1995, the United States supported a fundamental weakening of the economic sanctions against Iraq. We supported a resolution permitting Iraq to sell \$1 billion worth of oil every 90 days under the oil-for-food program. I believe this was a weakening of the sanctions, and as a consequence was a mistake.

What this has done is it has allowed Saddam to import food and medicine for the Iraqi people, which is true and certainly worthy, but it has also made it far easier for Saddam to divert some of the investment billions that he has hidden in accounts around the world. Prior to the oil-for-food program, Saddam had to use these investment profits to import food and medicine. The oil-for-food program frees up his investment profits to purchase equipment that can enhance all of his weapons capabilities, including his capacity to manufacture weapons of mass destruction.

Mr. President, I believe that the United States must make every effort now to ensure that Saddam cannot use his oil assets to obtain more hard currency for weapons programs. That is why I am introducing the resolution today. The resolution specifically urges the President to oppose any measure that weakens the international sanctions that permit Iraq to export oil.

Recently, the Secretary-General of the United Nations recommended a significant easing of the Iraq sanctions and proposed that Iraq be permitted to sell more than twice as much oil as is currently permitted. Under this proposal, Iraq could conceivably sell \$10.4 billion worth of oil in a single year. I was shocked to learn that this administration has indicated it would support this unwarranted expansion of Iraqi oil exports. Mr. President, if this U.N. proposal is adopted we might just as well end all sanctions on Iraq. Mr. President, \$10.4 billion dollars was the amount of oil that Iraq exported before her invasion of Kuwait. Are we going to allow Iraq to return to that level of exports and still retain a public stance in support of sanctions? That proposal makes a mockery of the sanctions.

My concurrent resolution would also urge the President to develop measures that will tighten the oil embargo on Iraq and prevent the leakage into the world marketplace that we have seen over the past few years. It also urges the President to try and convince both the Governments of Kuwait and Saudi Arabia to end their boycott of Jordan and begin making subsidized oil sales to Jordan to replace the Iraqi oil. The Jordanian border is one of the most porous in the Middle East and the Jordanians are forced to trade with Iraq primarily because the Saudis and Kuwaitis will not sell Jordan oil. That policy may have made sense immediately after the gulf war but today it must be reconsidered. If we can replace 96,000 barrels of oil that Jordan imports from Iraq, we will have made a significant step toward tightening the flow of dollars to Iraq.

Mr. President, oil is the key to controlling the future military capacity and capabilities of Iraq, and we must move more vigilantly in our efforts to stop the leakage of Iraqi oil onto the world market if we are going to contain Saddam Hussein.

Mr. President, let me again highlight the specifics of the resolution I just introduced. The resolution urges the administration to oppose any further weakening of economic sanctions against Iraq. The resolution urges the President to propose to the United Nations measures to significantly tighten the international embargo on the sale of oil from Iraq, including efforts to strengthen the multilateral interdiction force so that these illegal shipments can be stopped. And finally, the resolution urges the President to enter into negotiations with oil producing

nations in the gulf to encourage these nations to make subsidized sales of oil to Jordan.

Mr. President, recognizing the concern that we all share over developments in Iraq since the Persian Gulf war, we are faced with the necessity to take a hard look at our options. One option is the strategic bombing of the sites where we believe we have enough information to satisfy ourselves that a strike will have a meaningful impact. On the other hand, strategic bombing is likely to result in television shots of injured children and women that undoubtedly will be placed as human shields around strategic sites in Iraq.

Another option is the use of ground forces to back up an air campaign to try and take out Saddam Hussein himself. Although the United States has significant resources, there is a recognition that a ground strike under current circumstances is unlikely given the increasing likelihood that American soldiers would lose their lives. Of course there is also the unanswered question of what we would do if Saddam survived such an attack?

With either of these options we must address the reality that we do not have the multilateral coalition which included our Arab neighbors that we had when the Bush administration initiated Desert Storm. I think it is unfortunate that this administration has not maintained that coalition. So now we are pretty much alone. Great Britain, Canada and Australia are with us, and for that we are grateful, but from there on it gets pretty lonesome.

Going it alone or going it with others, we still must talk about the end game. If Saddam Hussein survives, do we continue these same efforts in another few years? Are we going to give Saddam Hussein carte blanche in his ability to recover? Because he will recover by selling oil. That is what he has.

Saddam Hussein has been able to generate roughly \$1 billion per quarter from the sale of oil. There is information—and unfortunately I can't reveal some of the information because it is classified—concerning the large amount of illegal oil that is flowing out of Iraq. And we are not able to stop this flow both because there are not enough multilateral intervention force (MIF) vessels in the area and because the rules of engagement under which the MIF forces operate don't allow them to stop such illegal movement.

It is these illegal sales that are primarily fueling Iraq's economy. Mr. President, it simply makes sense to this Senator to recognize that oil is the lifeblood of Iraq. We need to shut off this lifeblood, maybe through a combination of increased enforcement of the embargo and jawboning some of our allies who are purchasing Iraq's oil. Perhaps we need to go further, and consider the merits of a maritime blockade of some sort. A blockade certainly is not an unreasonable alternative when you consider that we might ini-

tiate a military action against Saddam. Stop Saddam Hussein's oil and you shut down his ability to funnel resources into his war machine and the economy, and ultimately, I think his regime will collapse.

As a Congress, we must address the issue of oil sales and we must do it in a prompt manner. I believe we must terminate these illegal sales of oil and we must be more vigilant in our oversight to ensure that the oil that is allowed to be sold under the sanctions and the dollars generated are really going for the benefit of the people and their social needs. That is the basis of my resolution. We must stop Saddam Hussein's ability to fund his war machine by cutting off his ability to supply the markets with Iraqi oil. That is an action that we should have taken some time ago.

I urge my colleagues to consider the merits of my concurrent resolution. It is certainly appropriate to consider this action as we address the merits of any further military action that might be contemplated to stop Saddam from whatever his ultimate objective is. Cut off his oil and you are going to get his attention.

SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 77—RELATIVE TO THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

Mr. SESSIONS submitted the following concurrent resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Labor and Human Resources:

S. CON. RES. 77

Whereas studies have found that quality child care, particularly for infants and young children, requires a sensitive, interactive, loving, and consistent caregiver;

Whereas most parents meet and exceed the aforementioned criteria, circumstances allowing, parental care marks the best form of child care;

Whereas the recent National Institute for Child Health and Development study found that the greatest factor in the development of a young child is "what is happening at home and in families";

Whereas a child's interaction with his or her parents has the most significant impact on their development, any Federal child care policy should enable and encourage parents to spend more time with their children;

Whereas 48 percent of mothers with preschool children under the age of 5 are full-time at-home parents and another 34 percent of mothers work part-time in order to spend more time with their preschool children;

Whereas a large number of low- and middle-income families sacrifice a second full-time income so that the mother may be at home with her child;

Whereas the average income of 2-parent families with a single income is \$20,000 less than the average income of 2-parent families with two incomes;

Whereas only 30 percent of preschool children are in paid child care and the remaining 70 percent of preschool children are in families that do not pay for child care, many of which are low- to middle-income families struggling to provide child care at home;

Whereas child care proposals should not provide financial assistance solely to the 30 percent of families that pay for child care and should not discriminate against families

in which children are cared for by an at-home parent; and

Whereas any congressional proposal that increases child care funding should provide financial relief to families that sacrifice an entire income in order that a mother or father may be at home for their young child: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the Congress recognizes that—

(1) many American families make enormous sacrifices to forgo a second income in order to have a parent care for their child at home;

(2) there should be no bias against at-home parents;

(3) parents choose many legitimate forms of child care to meet their individual needs—an at-home parent, grandparent, aunt, uncle, neighbor, nanny, preschool, or child care center;

(4) child care needs of at-home parents and working parents should be given careful consideration by the Congress;

(5) any quality child care proposal should reflect careful consideration of providing financial relief for those families where there is an at-home parent; and

* * * * *

SENATE RESOLUTION 176—PROCLAIMING "NATIONAL CHARACTER COUNTS WEEK"

Mr. DOMENICI (for himself, Mr. DODD, Mr. COCHRAN, Ms. MIKULSKI, Mr. BENNETT, Mr. LIEBERMAN, Mr. KEMPTHORNE, Mr. DORGAN, Mr. FRIST, and Mr. CLELAND) submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary:

S. RES. 176

Whereas young people will be the stewards of our communities, Nation, and world in critical times, and the present and future well-being of our society requires an involved, caring citizenry with good character;

Whereas concerns about the character training of children have taken on a new sense of urgency as violence by and against youth threatens the physical and psychological well-being of the Nation;

Whereas more than ever, children need strong and constructive guidance from their families and their communities, including schools, youth organizations, religious institutions, and civic groups;

Whereas the character of a nation is only as strong as the character of its individual citizens;

Whereas the public good is advanced when young people are taught the importance of good character and that character counts in personal relationships, in school, and in the workplace;

Whereas scholars and educators agree that people do not automatically develop good character and, therefore, conscientious efforts must be made by institutions and individuals that influence youth to help young people develop the essential traits and characteristics that comprise good character;

Whereas although character development is, first and foremost, an obligation of families, the efforts of faith communities, schools, and youth, civic, and human service organizations also play a very important role in supporting family efforts by fostering and promoting good character;

Whereas the Senate encourages students, teachers, parents, youth, and community leaders to recognize the valuable role our youth play in the present and future of our